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ABSTRACT

A 1982 study of alcohol use among migrant laborers in New York focuses on the extent of drinking among workers with different characteristics, to test the hypothesis that in camps composed primarily of family groups social control mechanisms will be more highly developed than in camps composed primarily of unattached men, and that this will be reflected in differences in drinking behavior. Interviews conducted with 217 Black and Haitian migrant agricultural workers in 13 camps in 4 upstate New York counties indicate that unattached, older, less-educated, lower-status Black men account for most of the heavy drinking in migrant camps, and that people travelling in family groups under the surveillance and control of kin report less frequent and less heavy drinking, and less trouble as a result. A consequence is that as more family groups leave migrant work, more migrants are unattached men, leading to increasing visibility of and concern about the problem of heavy alcohol use. The major recommendation is that recreational, social, and other activities be made available for migrant farmworkers, particularly on weekends and during "down" times, inclement weather, and evenings, as the heaviest drinking is during the weekend and other non-working times. The interview questionnaire and statistical tables are included. (MH)

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FINAL REPORT

"ALCOHOL USE AMONG MIGRANT LABORERS"

1983

Study made possible with funds from the

New York State Health Research Council

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Co-Principal Investigators -
Dr. Gloria Mattera
Dr. James Watson

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Robert Lynch
Richard Morales

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INTRODUCTION

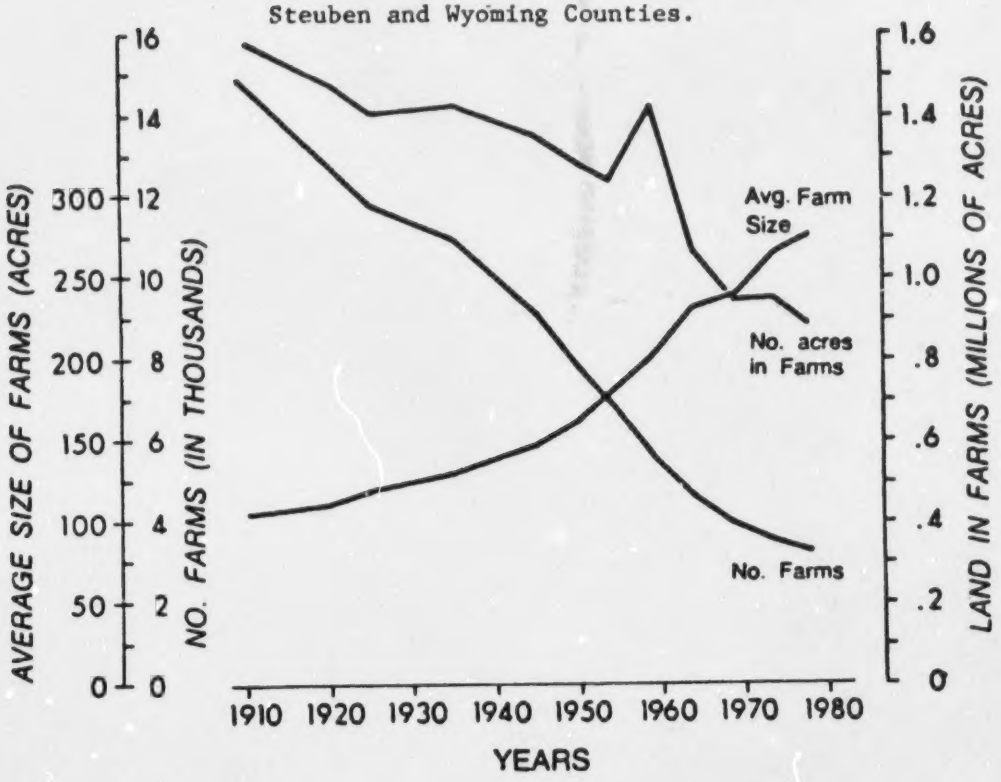
For at least 15 years it has been known that migrant laborers in the eastern stream along the Atlantic Coast nave been declining in numbers and that the composition of the work force has been changing. Increasingly, single, unattached men are replacing workers traveling in family groups. The present paper is concerned with examining these shifting patterns, especially as they are related to alcohol use and social organization.

The study was conducted among migrant laborers in camps in Livingston and Wyoming Counties in western New York. The Genesee River flows north through this area, through the city of Rochester, and then into Lake Ontario. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the river valley and surrounding areas have supported productive farms. In the early years, indeed, enough wheat was grown there for the region to have earned a reputation as the breadbasket of America, a reputation that soon passed to the Midwest as railroads opened up that part of the country in mid-century. It is not our purpose to write the history of agriculture in this region, but several points are important for understanding changing patterns of migrancy. First, as in other parts of the nation, the number of farms has declined dramatically over the past 70 years while average size has increased -- even as total acreage devoted to agriculture has declined. (See Figure 1.) Second, the change in number and size of farms reflects a transition from family-run operations to those which, though still largely family owned, require large amounts of additional labor for their successful operation.

In the Depression years prior to World War II, the major source of interstate migrant labor in New York was unemployed coal miners from Pennsylvania. During the war labor was provided by POWs, prison inmates, conscientious objectors, women, high school students, and workers from

Figure 1.

Agricultural change in Livingston, Steuben and Wyoming Counties.


AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS (ACRES)
NO. FARMS (IN THOUSANDS)
LAND IN FARMS (MILLIONS OF ACRES)
Avg. Farm Size
No. acres in Farms
No. Farms
YEARS
1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16
0 .2 .4 .6 .8 1.0 1.2 1.4 1.6

unproductive farming areas in West Virginia and Kentucky. In addition, government policy promoted the increasing use of labor saving equipment.[1] Following the War, southern blacks became the major source of interstate farm labor in New York and have continued to be so to the present, presumably as a result of two factors: their dispossession from farms in the South and the growth of job opportunities in other sectors of the economy for those who had previously been the major source of migrant labor. These southern black workers tended to travel in family groups and were recruited by crew leaders who contracted for their employment with various farmers up and down the eastern seaboard. The earliest estimate of numbers of migrants in New York State at the peak of the

season is from 1943. There was a rapid increase from about 6-7,000 in that year to a peak of perhaps 50,000 in 1949. Thereafter, as Figure 2 indicates, the decline in numbers has been substantial.[2] The same pattern has been observed in our area. Figure 3 shows the seasonal pattern of decline in the Genesee Valley since 1971.

Figure 2.

Number of Interstate migrant workers in New York State at the peak of the season.

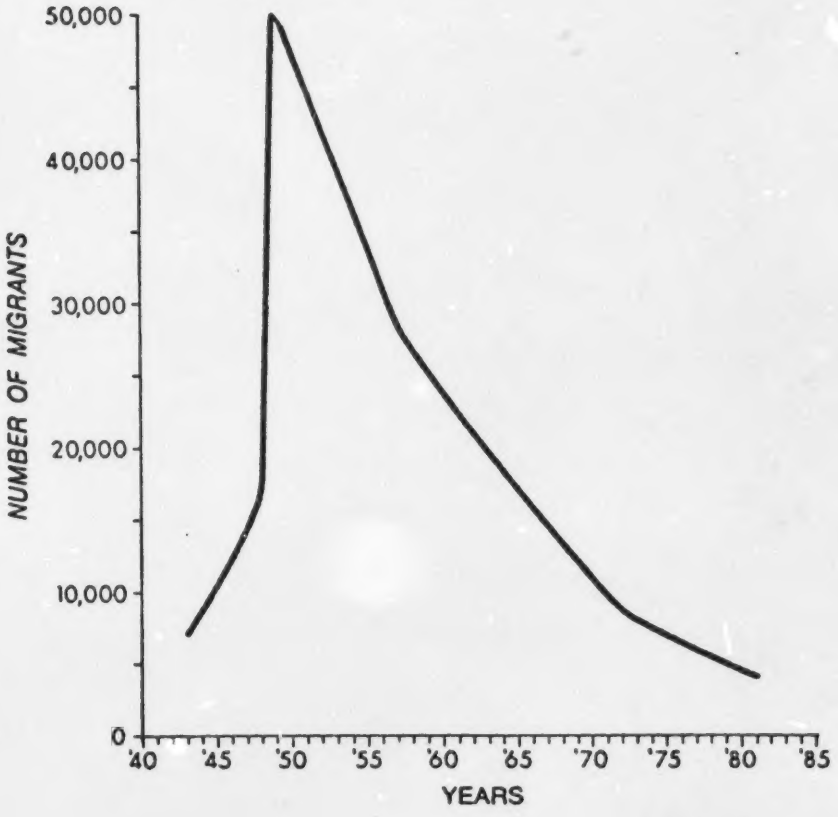
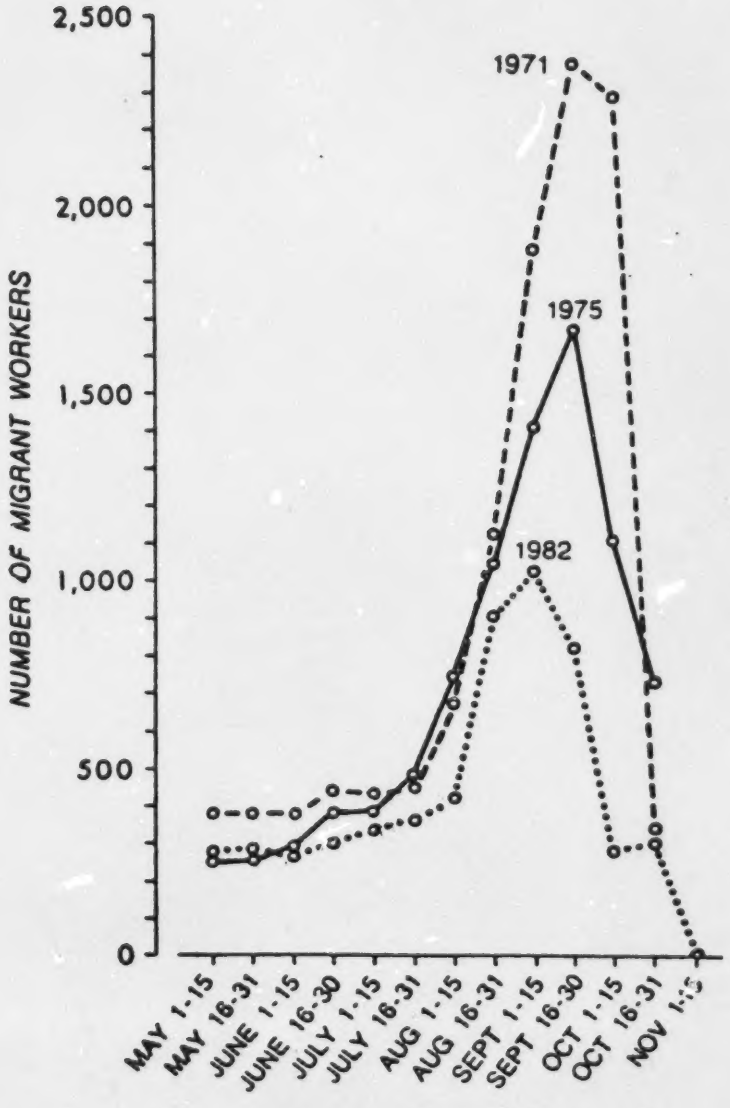


Figure 3.

Seasonal change in number of migrant workers in Livingston, Steuben, Wayne, and Wyoming Counties.



We have suggested that the increase in migrancy was related to the accelerated rate of decline of family farms in the post-war period. As the remaining farmers increased their holdings and wealth, however, many of them began to invest in increasingly sophisticated farm equipment, shifting from labor- to capital-intensive agriculture. The process was accelerated, but not caused, by the civil rights movement in the 1960s which, by forcing improvements in migrants' living and working conditions, made their employment more expensive and more troublesome. Moreover, many family groups that had done migrant labor for a period of years settled out of the stream as opportunities elsewhere became available.[3] Finally, farmers found that with rising costs, family groups were becoming too expensive. If a migrant camp could legally house only 50 people, for instance, unproductive children might occupy space that could more profitably be used for an adult. Thus, the increasing costs of hiring migrants after the 1960s seems to have contributed to an already existing trend from labor- to capital-intensive farming as well as to a shift in the composition of the remaining work force from family groups to an increasing proportion of unattached men.

There is reason to believe that until recently in Western New York potato farming has not benefited from mechanical pickers because of the characteristics of the hilly, rocky terrain.[4] Nonetheless, even here mechanization has had an impact. This is the result of a complex process the outline of which we shall sketch only briefly. The mechanization of harvesting a wide variety of crops has made it less easy for migrant laborers to be employed continuously throughout the season. Increasingly, therefore, one finds either highly skilled crews specializing in one crop in which harvesting has not yet been mechanized or crews composed largely

of unskilled workers doing only the lowest status sort of stoop labor, potato picking.

Thus, the process of mechanization initiated the decline in employment of migrant labor in the 1950s. Those early workers, most of whom travelled in family groups and were themselves former farmers, began dropping out of the stream, being replaced increasingly by the sweepings of barrooms and skid rows. Arguably, as the quality of the work force declined, more incentive was given to mechanization. Mechanization may thus have become a self-reinforcing process.

In this context, the introduction of Haitian immigrants into the stream has been especially interesting. They are part of the wave of immigrants recently arrived in Florida. A number of observers have remarked upon the avidity with which they take advantage of whatever educational opportunities are available to them and the rapidity with which they leave farm work. How permanent a part of the migrant labor force they become is still too early to say. In general we may say that the number and characteristics of migrants have changed in response to changes in farming, the political climate of the country, and the appearance of workers from abroad. Their employment in our area has been one stage in the as yet incomplete transition from family-owned and operated small farms to capital-intensive large farms. The rapidity with which this change is proceeding is reflected in the fact that when we began planning this study in 1980 there were in our study area twenty-one migrant camps and approximately 600 workers --none of them Haitian-- at the peak of the season. By the time the field work was done in 1982, there were only ten camps, and no more than 450 workers --perhaps half of them Haitians-- at the peak of the season.

These changes in the size and composition of the interstate migrant labor force form the backdrop for our study. In recent years a number of observers have commented that there appeared to be an increase in related problems among these workers and that this seemed to be related to an increase in the proportion of unattached older men. Our study, then, was focused upon discovering the extent of drinking in this population and its distribution among workers with different characteristics. Specifically we were interested in testing the hypothesis that in camps composed primarily of family groups, social control mechanisms will be more highly developed than in camps composed primarily of unattached men and that this will be reflected in differences in drinking behavior.

METHODS AND MEASURES

The analysis of migrant drinking behavior presented in this study is based upon personal interviews conducted with 217 black and Haitian migrant agricultural workers housed in thirteen camps located in four counties in Upstate New York. Interviews were directed and conducted by one of the senior investigators on the study, with the aid of nine assistants all of whom had received specialized training in the interviewing skills necessary for their specific assignments. All interviews were completed during the 1982 Fall harvesting season. Interviewing began in early September and was completed by the second week in November.

The Sample

In accordance with our overall research strategy we wished to choose camps in which to conduct interviews that would exhibit as wide a range of variation in size and in type of social organization as possible. Based on information derived from the previous season, we had selected some twenty-one camps for intensive study. These particular migrant camps were selected because they included examples of both large and relatively anonymous migrant farm crews as well as examples of smaller and more family oriented crews. These particular twenty-one camps were chosen also for the reason that sufficient rapport had been previously developed with the crew leaders and with the owners at each of these farms so that it was at least probable that a research team would be granted entree for the purpose of conducting interviews. We were acutely aware of the highly sensitive nature of the topic we were investigating and realized it was only from owners and crew leaders who trusted us that any kind of real cooperation could be expected.

When we entered the field in early September 1982 we found that our original sample of twenty-one camps had been considerably reduced in number. As the crews arrived from the South it became increasingly clear that only twelve out of the original twenty-one migrant labor camps would open for the season. In addition, two of the crew leaders refused our interviewers' permission to question their crews about alcohol use, leaving only ten camps in which we were able to conduct interviews. To these ten it became possible to add three more camps from a nearby county late in October, yielding the previously mentioned total of thirteen camps.

It is important to stress that the reduction in the number of camps in operation in 1982 as compared to 1981 was due to camps being closed either for reasons of health and safety or because an owner was selling his farm. Our sample of camps was not reduced due to a high rate of refusal or because of lack of cooperation. With the exception of the two cases already mentioned, we were greeted by owners, crew leaders and migrants with friendly interest and for the most part with immediate cooperation. Despite the fact that considerable skepticism was expressed by many of those involved about any hope of "solving" the alcohol problem on the camps, all agreed excessive drinking, especially on weekends, presented a very serious and urgent problem. Thus, all agreed that the goal of obtaining objective information about alcohol use on the camps was an essential step in the continuing effort to improve the health and welfare of migrant farm workers.

Representativeness and Generalizability

The thirteen camps surveyed in this study cannot claim to constitute a random sample drawn from some larger universe of migrant camps. The constraints under which we worked precluded our obtaining such a sample.

Without the cooperation of crew leaders, growers and migrants we could not have asked the kinds of questions we asked nor have collected, as we did, information on such sensitive and personal subjects as the sometimes illegal sale and consumption of alcohol. Our sample of camps was by necessity confined to those to which we had obtained access. Moreover, the area in which we worked is devoted primarily to potato growing and work in this crop has traditionally been among the lowest status of all types of migrant farm work. It is stoop labor that requires less judgement, for instance, than apple picking. As already noted, it has not been revolutionized by mechanization as snap-bean picking was by a harvester developed in the late 1950s, presumably because the hilly, rocky terrain in our region made the mechanical potato harvester less economical than it was on Long Island where conditions are much different.

Because the kind of work done by our respondents differs so much from the work done by migrants in other areas, it is conceivable that the characteristics of the migrants themselves differ as well. We have no comparative data from workers in other crops so we cannot be certain. As a result, the thirteen camps in which we worked should be regarded as essentially a self-contained universe. This is therefore, a case study of alcohol use by migrant farm workers at a particular point in the historical development of agriculture in a particular region and at one point in time. We believe our results are generalizable to other migrants doing similar kinds of work both in New York and in the nation's migrant impact areas. We are less certain how drinking patterns and practices may vary among workers from other ethnic and racial groups working in other crops. Comparative studies would be of considerable theoretical and practical interest.

Once we had settled upon the particular camps in which interviewing

would take place, we found that sampling individual migrants within the thirteen camps in our study also presented unique and difficult problems. The work force in each camp was composed of both unattached individuals and members of family groups. In the small camps, family groups tended to predominate while in the larger camps, unattached individuals predominated. We had originally expected to interview all the members of family groups since these persons usually have worked with the same crew for an extended period of time and return year after year. This expectation was, in fact, fulfilled. We found that enumerating and interviewing the population of family members was not a significant problem as most of them were well known to the research team and were present during the entire season.

Enumerating and sampling the transient population of unattached workers proved to be much more difficult. Because of the relatively rapid turnover of this group, no adequate sampling frame could be constructed. Individuals in this group would come and go at will, sometimes shifting from one camp to another even within our small sample of thirteen camps. More often, however, they would simply leave the area altogether and therefore would be denied a chance of being interviewed.

Under these conditions of extreme fluidity it seemed advisable to attempt to interview as many as possible of the total number of transient workers in any given camp. Accordingly, our team of interviewers was sent back again and again to each camp throughout the season to make sure we had not missed anyone and to verify that everyone, even the migrants who had just arrived, had been reached.

Our approach to sampling individual migrants thus was to give up the plan to randomly sample transients and instead, because of the exigencies

of the field situation, to attempt to interview all the migrant workers to be found in all of the camps under study. We think we were reasonably successful in reaching our goal. With the exception of the three camps added late in the Fall our best estimate indicates it was possible to reach at least 80% of the residents of each of the remaining ten camps to which we had gained entree. In the case of the three camps added late in the growing season we arrived on the scene just as the camps were breaking up to leave for Florida. The short time remaining permitted contacting only a small proportion of the residents of these three camps before they closed entirely for the winter. All respondents were 18 years of age or older, though there is reason to believe a few younger people were interviewed by mistake. Only six Haitian women were identified and interviewed. The number is too small for adequate analysis, and they are not included.

The Dependent Variables

The measures of drinking behavior that we selected to measure the extent of migrant alcohol use are based upon those employed by Cahalan et. al. in their study of American drinking attitudes and practices.[5] We have used, in modified form, two of their measures of alcohol use. These two indicators are, first, the frequency of alcohol consumption by a given individual and, second, the quantity of alcohol consumed on a typical occasion by that same individual.

The first of these measures of drinking behavior (frequency) is intended to estimate how often the respondents consume alcohol. Respondents are asked to indicate typical frequency of consumption on a scale which ranges from "never" through "once or twice a month" to "weekly" and ending in the "daily" use of alcohol. The second measure of alcohol use (quantity) involves asking respondents to recall the

maximum quantity of alcohol they typically consume on a given occasion. Originally, Cahalan and his associates had distinguished among wine drinkers, beer drinkers and whiskey or liquor drinkers and had asked, "How often do you have as many as five or six glasses of wine, or cans of beer or drinks of liquor?" In the present study, however, it seemed prudent to simplify Cahalan's procedure in view of the complexity of the field situation we faced in the migrant camps. The question we used did not attempt to differentiate between wine, beer and liquor drinkers but asked, instead, "During the past year, how many times have you had five or more drinks at a single sitting?" The seven response categories available for this question ranged from "never" through "monthly" and "weekly" to a point at the high end of the scale of "several times a week."

We found that for our sample as a whole, the correlation (Spearman's Rho) between "frequency" and "quantity" was .59. This correlation shows that although these two aspects of drinking behavior are strongly related, they are sufficiently independent of each other to be measuring, at least to some extent, separate and distinct phenomena. Thus, we will treat frequency and quantity as separate but complementary aspects of the drinking behavior of migrant workers.

In addition to the frequency and quantity of alcohol consumed, an index was adapted from Mulford[6] which describes most of the common personal and social problems often associated with heavy or continuous drinking. We employed Mulford's "Trouble Due to Drinking" scale as our third dependent variable in order to supplement and to validate our two measures of the sheer frequency and quantity of alcohol consumption with a behaviorally based indicator of some of the more common and easily observable consequences of alcohol use. The Trouble Due to Drinking

Scale contains the following five items:

1. Have you ever been fired or threatened with being fired if you did not cut down or quit drinking?

2. Has a relative or someone you're living with ever complained that you spend too much money for alcohol?

3. Has your spouse or someone you're living with ever threatened to leave you if you did not do something about your drinking?

4. Have you ever been picked up by the police for being drunk or other charges involving alcohol?

5. Has a doctor ever told you that drinking was bad for you?

The Trouble Due to Drinking Scale is scored by summing for each respondent the number of "yes" responses to each of the five items which make up the Scale. Thus, each migrant worker's total score has a possible range of from zero to five depending upon the number of problems he or she reported having experienced as a result of the use of alcohol. Self-report measures similar to Mulford's Trouble Due to Drinking Scale have been widely used in alcohol research and have been found to be both valid and reliable. Although for our sample of migrant farm workers it would be difficult, if not impossible, to directly test for validity, we found the reliability of the Scale as measured by Cronbach's Alpha to be quite high. The Scale yielded an alpha of .83 which constitutes evidence of the internal consistency of the measure.[7]

Several other measures of alcohol use were also obtained: a scale measuring the medical sequelae of drinking, a definition of alcohol scale, and a preoccupation with alcohol scale. They are all displayed in Appendix I, the questionnaire that we used. Suffice to say that the correlations among all the alcohol measures was very high (see Appendix II) and presentation of all the results would thus be unnecessarily redundant.

Because our variables are for the most part ordinal rather than inter-

val, we have used Spearman's Rho as our measure of association. Where levels of significance are reported, they are meant to be regarded as an indicator of the magnitude of the association we have found. As already stated, our respondents are not to be considered a random sample of the universe of migrants in the Eastern stream.

RESULTS

Our presentation of the results of this study will be divided into two parts: First, a description will be presented of the drinking behavior of migrant workers. The purpose of this section is simply to describe rather than attempt to explain behavior. A variety of aspects of migrant alcohol use will be discussed so that the reader will know something about the following issues: How often migrant workers drink, how much they drink, what they drink, their preferences in alcoholic beverages, when they drink, and where they drink.

Second, we will attempt to explain not only how migrant workers drink, but why they drink in the way they do. Here the emphasis is not so much on description as on explanation. We will present statistical correlations between independent and dependent variables. The dependent variables will be various indices of drinking behavior; the independent variables will be measures of migrant social isolation, and other demographic and background factors.

Table 1 describes how often each of the three groups we have studied usually drinks. What is being described here is the migrant worker's self-report of his or her typical behavior. The question we want to answer here is, "Do migrant workers drink more or less frequently than other Americans," or in other words, "How do black male migrants compare to black males in general?" "How do black females compare to black females in general?" Finally, "How do non-interstate migrant Haitian males compare to Haitian males who are interstate migrants?" The concern is obviously, do migrant workers in all three of these categories drink more frequently, about the same, or less frequently than their more ordinary counterparts

Table 1. Frequency of Alcohol Consumption

Frequency	Black Males	Black Females	Haitian Males
Never	9.9%	34.4%	70.3%
Once a Month	8.3	6.3	3.1
Two to Three Times a Month	7.4	3.1	3.1
Once a Week	17.4	18.8	10.9
Two to Three Times a Week	33.1	18.8	9.4
Daily	24.0	18.8	3.1
	100.0% (N=121)	100.0% (N=32)	100.0% (N=64)

in the general population?

One way to attack this question is to look especially hard at abstainers. Abstainers are persons who self-report themselves as never drinking alcohol. In this category, if we look at Table 1, we see that 9.9% of the black males are abstainers, 34.4% of the black females, and 0.3% of the Haitian males report themselves to be abstainers. Is this high or low compared to the general population? We cannot really answer this question for Haitians. So little is known about their drinking in the United States, or even in Haiti, that comparisons are impossible. We have reason to believe, however, that Haitians do drink more frequently than is indicated by these results. We have data from Cahalan et. al. that shows in the case of black men 21% are abstainers, for black women 51% are abstainers. Black men are very similar to white men, among whom the proportion of abstainers is 23%. Black women are even more likely than their white counterparts to abstain. Thirty-nine percent of white women are abstainers compared to 50% of black women.

What does this mean as far as black migrant workers are concerned? Clearly in our sample we have only half as many male abstainers as Cahalan's data would have led us to expect. To put it the other way, 90% of our group of black males drinks at least once a month. Similarly the black women in our sample drink more frequently than the national data would suggest as a norm. Only 34.4% are abstainers, as compared to 51% of the national sample.

Now what about the other end of the distribution, those who can be classified as heavy drinkers. Here we also see that our sample of migrant workers drink more frequently than is reported as the national norm.

National surveys have shown that approximately 50% of all men and 10% of all women are "heavy" drinkers. These proportions have remained quite constant from survey to survey, and have in even very recent national surveys remained virtually unchanged.

For black males and females, Cahalan found that he could classify 19% of the black men and 11% of the black women as heavy drinkers - defining heavy drinking as drinking nearly every day. Here we find that our sample is only a little above the national norm for men: 24% drink "daily" compared to Cahalan's 19%. Among the women 18.8% drink daily, almost twice the rate of heavy drinkers than in the national sample.

Turning to Table 2 we have another confirmation that in terms of frequency alone our sample of black men and women is rather typical of blacks in the general population. When asked about their actual behavior in the week prior to interview, we find really rather low levels of alcohol consumption on the migrant camps. A full third of the sample claimed to be abstainers and exactly half of the women did not drink during the previous week. Even if one considers the 89.1% for the Haitian males as sheer exaggeration, this finding certainly calls into question the stereotype of the drunken migrant. A possible explanation may be that the prior week was a heavy work week with, therefore, little drinking or that the workers had not yet earned enough money.

Table 2 displays the actual frequency of alcohol consumption during the seven days prior to interview. Approximately a third of the black men reported having totally abstained from the consumption of alcohol during that period. Exactly half of the black women said they had not had anything alcoholic for the previous seven days. Ninety percent of the Haitian males indicated they also were abstainers during the same

Table 2. Number of Days in the Previous Seven in Which Alcohol Was Consumed

Frequency	Black Males	Black Females	Haitian Males
None	32.2%	50.0%	89.1%
One	19.0	25.0	3.1
Two	23.1	6.3	6.3
Three	7.4	9.4	0.0
Four	5.0	3.1	1.6
Five	3.3	0.0	0.0
Six	0.8	0.0	0.0
Seven	9.1	6.3	0.0
	100.0% (N=121)	100.0% (N=32)	100.0% (N=64)

seven-day time period.

Table 3 contains data on the frequency of consumption of five or more drinks at a single sitting. This measure of alcohol use shifts the emphasis from the sheer frequency of alcohol intake to a consideration of the total amount of alcohol consumed on a given occasion. The purpose of this measure is to capture operationally the concept of "binge drinking." Binge or indulgent drinking is generally thought to be particularly dangerous to the safety and health of individuals and is thus considered an important indicator of "heavy" or "problem drinking."

The most significant finding in Table 3 is that 22.3% of the black males and 12.5% of the black females in our sample fall into the highest category of consumption where the highest category is defined as having consumed five or more drinks at a single sitting at least several times a week. Comparable data from Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley's national sample indicate that 19% of the black men in their sample, 22% of the white men, 11% of the black women and 4% of the white women drank as heavily as five or more drinks at one sitting. Comparing the national findings with those presented in Table 3, we note that for both black men and women in our sample the prevalence of heavy or binge drinking approximates the norm for the black population as a whole. It should also be pointed out that the percentage of our sample of black men who report themselves to frequently imbibe five or more drinks at a time is almost exactly equal to that Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley obtained for white men. Black women, however, are more inclined to drink heavily than white women. Black women in both the national sample and in our study are more likely to either abstain from alcohol or to drink heavily. This bipolarity in the drinking behavior of black women has been frequently observed but has not

Table 3. Frequency of the Consumption of More Than Five Drinks at a Single Sitting

Frequency	Black Males	Black Females	Haitian Males
None	30.6%	62.5%	82.8%
Once	5.8	3.1	6.3
Two to Ten Times	19.0	9.4	1.6
Once a Month	4.1	0.0	1.6
Twice a Month	2.5	6.3	3.1
Once a Week	15.7	6.3	3.1
Several Times a Week	22.3	12.5	1.6
	100.0% (N=121)	100.0% (N=32)	100.0% (N=64)

been satisfactorily explained.

The main message contained in Tables 1 through 3 is clear: the black males and the black females in our sample of migrant workers do not drink either more frequently or more heavily than their national sample black counterparts.

In line with the tendency toward relative moderation in drinking behavior noted above, Table 4 shows that the vast majority of alcohol consumed by our sample of migrants is consumed in the form of beer. When asked what they drank on the most recent occasion, approximately three-fifths of the black males and over four-fifths of the black females indicated they drank beer. The second choice to beer is not wine as one might expect but gin. This finding is consistent with other studies of black populations, such as Sterne and Pittman's study of ghetto drinking patterns.[8] Their study of drinkers in a St. Louis housing project also found a high preference for beer and a low preference for wine, a finding which they explain by reference to subcultural attitudes which stigmatize the use of wine.

Table 5 confirms the preference for beer and the lack of favor accorded to wine by the respondents in our sample. The question now turns to ideal preferences, and asks about the migrant worker's favorite alcoholic beverage if that could be obtained. Beer, whiskey (in all its various forms) and gin make up the bulk of the expressed preferences. Interestingly Haitian males also prefer beer except for a substantial minority of rum drinkers.

If black male and female migrant farm workers are relatively moderate in the quantity and frequency of their alcohol consumption and if, on the camps, they consume mainly beer, why do migrant workers have a reputation

Table 4. Type of Alcohol Consumed on the Most Recent Occasion (Drinkers Only)

Alcoholic Beverage	Black Males	Black Females	Haitian Males
Beer	57.3%	85.7%	93.3%
Wine	10.2	0.0	0.0
Gin	15.7	9.5	0.0
Vodka	2.8	0.0	0.0
Whiskey	9.3	4.8	0.0
Cognac	2.8	0.0	0.0
Rum	1.9	0.0	6.7
	100.0% (N=108)	100.0% (N=21)	100.0% (N=14)

Table 5. Favorite Drink (Drinkers Only)

Alcoholic Beverage	Black Males	Black Females	Haitian Males
Beer	35.2%	75.0%	69.2%
Wine	8.6	10.0	7.7
Gin	14.3	5.0	0.0
Vodka	4.8	5.0	0.0
Whiskey	23.8	5.0	0.0
Cognac	7.6	0.0	0.0
Rum	5.7	0.0	23.1
	100.0% (N=105)	100.0% (N=20)	100.0% (N=13)

as heavy drinkers and alcoholics? The data presented in Table 6 on when drinking typically takes place provides at least a partial answer.

While about a third of the black men, the Haitian men and black women all indicate they drink anytime during the day, better than three-quarters of all three groups indicate they drink on weekends. Evening drinking is also very popular with black women, and at least half of both the black women and the black men report they drink on rainy days. By contrast, respondent after respondent emphasized to our interviewers that they would never drink on work days!

Almost every observer of the migrant's work place has stressed the unpredictability of farm work, resulting in endemic uncertainty in the life of the migrant. Similarly, it may be that it is not the amount of alcohol that is consumed that is problematic but the circumstances under which it is consumed that results in an unfavorable image of the black migrant being created and sustained. Episodic weekend drinking, drinking during down times, the appearance of doing nothing, all conspire to give and to reinforce the image of the migrant as shiftless, drunken and irresponsible.

We asked one final question which was intended to provide some insight into the relative importance of alcohol in the migrant worker's experiential and structural situation on the camps. This question asked, "Do you drink more, the same or less when you are on the season." The answers we received are displayed in Table 7. Only about 20% of the black males, about 16% of the black females and a mere 6% of the Haitian males said they drank more while living and working on the migrant camps than they did back home. ("Back home" for almost all of our respondents almost always means the citrus growing region in Florida.) The vast majority

Table 6. When Drinking Takes Place (Drinkers Only)

Percent Agreement to Each of the Following	Black Males	Black Females	Haitian Males
Drinks on Weekends	90.8	85.7	78.9
Drinks Evenings	67.9	90.5	47.4
Drinks on Rainy Days	62.4	52.4	31.6
Drinks During Down Times	52.3	28.6	10.5
Drinks Anytime During the Day	34.9	28.6	31.6
	(N=109)	(N=21)	(N=19)

Table 7. Do You Drink More or Less on the Season?

	Black Males	Black Females	Haitian Males
More	20.7%	15.6%	6.3%
Same	33.9	53.1	76.6
Less	45.4	31.3	17.2
	100.0% (N=121)	100.0% (N=32)	100.0% (N=64)

indicated they either drank less on the migrant camps or about the same. Thus these data very seriously cast doubt upon the thesis that the social isolation, the boredom or the lack of control over rewards and working conditions inherent in migrant farm work by themselves result in high levels of alcohol consumption. Instead, and this is an approach which will be pursued in the subsequent causal and correlational section of this report, it may be possible that it is the transience, marginality, and social isolation of a small but growing minority of single unattached men who constitute the bulk of the alcohol problem on migrant labor camps. If most migrants drink moderately and drink on weekends and in the evenings or at down times, where is the problem? Is productivity really affected? Are social relations really disrupted because of drinking? Or is it because a minority of older, (or sometimes younger) unattached, men and women with marginal status are peripheral to and unaffected by normal mechanisms of social control that an "alcohol problem" has arisen? We turn to this issue in the next section.

Intercorrelations Among Independent Variables

Tables 8 through 10 contain intercorrelational matrices which exhibit the relationships among the independent variables in our study. Two main categories of variables are employed: first, variables which measure indices of social isolation and, second, the standard background variables (age, education and occupation). Sex and race are employed throughout as control variables since all of the correlations are presented separately for each of the combinations of ethnic group and sex to be found in our sample. Thus, all correlational data will be presented separately for black males, black females and Haitian males.

We used several measures of social isolation. First, we simply added

up the total number of relatives each informant reported having in the camp. Second, we developed a typology to measure how close or distant the relatives were to the informant and how many generations were included (See Appendix III). This variable is called "Relatedness."

We further expected that kinship, as measured by total relatives and relatedness, would be a good predictor of social structure in the sense of room assignment. Our preliminary observations on the camps had led us to believe that much of the drinking that takes place in our sample of migrant camps takes place in the rooms in which the migrant workers live, eat and sleep. The variable "who shares room" thus becomes crucial for the understanding of how kinship relatedness is translated into social control over drinking behavior. Three response categories were created and coded from the data we collected concerning roommate characteristics. These three categories were: (1) relative, (2) friend and (3) stranger. These three alternatives represent decreasing degrees of closeness and intimacy or, conversely, greater degrees of isolation.

Finally, we added the variable "years with crew" to stand for the total number of years the respondent had been with the same crew and "number of roommates" to indicate the number of roommates present in the same room with the respondent. Our rationale for adding these two purely quantitative indicators of isolation was the assumption that family oriented crews would contain workers who had returned to the same crew year after year and would, as a result, be less isolated from other crew members. In the case of "number of roommates," our working hypothesis was that as the number of roommates increased, the less likely it would be that these other persons would be friends or relatives.

Since we are predicting that older, less educated and lower

status men are being employed more and more often on migrant camps, the three background variables were added to the list of independent variables. Age should interact with our measures of isolation. Older men are expected to be more isolated. We also predicted that older men would be less educated and less likely to have been previously employed in relatively prestigious occupations.[9]

In summary, then, the pattern we expected to find in the associations among the independent variables is as follows: Those migrant workers with the largest total number of relatives on the camp are expected to be more embedded in a network of camp-based kinship relations. This quality of relatedness or embeddedness is, in turn, associated with an increased probability of having a friend or relative as a roommate and also with having a smaller room and fewer roommates. Older men fit this pattern in reverse: they have fewer relatives on camp and are less closely related to the relatives they do have on camp; they are less likely to share a room with a relative or friend and finally, are more likely to be housed in a dormitory type room or "bullpen." Older men also tend to have spent less time with the same crew, are less well educated, and tend to have been employed in lower status occupations.

Similar assumptions about relations among independent variables were not developed for black females or for Haitian males but the correlational results for these two groups are nevertheless presented in the tables which follow as a basis for comparison with the black male population.

The results displayed in Table 8 closely correspond to our expectations. Total relatives and relatedness are very strongly associated. Since the strength of this relationship verges on the tautological, it is reassuring to see that who shares the room is also strongly related to be both total

Table 8. Intercorrelations among Independent Variables and Background Factors for Black Males +

	Total Relatives	Related-ness	Who Shares Room	Years with Crew	No. of Roommates	Age	Education	Occupation
Social Isolation								
1. Total Relatives	-							
2. Relatedness	.94 ***	-						
3. Who Shares Room	.62 ***	.72 ***	-					
4. Years with Crew	.19 *	.19 *	.08	-				
5. No. of Roommates	-.14	-.20 *	-.32 ***	.10	-			
Background Factors								
6. Age	-.39***	-.36 ***	- .24 **	.17 *	.27 ***	-		
7. Education	.12	.14	.05	-.02	-.23 **	-.29 ***	-	
8. Occupation	-.08	-.02	.00	.12	.02	.09	.28 ***	-

* Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level
*** Significant at the .001 level

\+ Spearman's Rho

relatives and relatedness. One's roommate in a migrant camp is hardly a matter of merely definition but an empirical reality which makes its impact felt on a daily basis.

The data for black males show, then, a very close association between the three variables of total relatives, relatedness and who shares one's room all of which when taken together indicate that a high degree of social structural organization based upon kinship exists in the camps we studied. Rooms are not assigned on a random basis and presumably the non-random nature of this assignment has real and important consequences.

Looking at the remaining independent variables in Table 8, we see that "years with crew" is positively and significantly associated with both the total number of relatives on camp and the degree of relatedness. The strength of these associations is modest but nevertheless suggests that the probability of returning year after year to the same camp to work for the same crew leader is affected in important ways by the presence or absence of family ties. Number of roommates, conversely, and as expected, is negatively related to all three of the variables which stand for the closeness of association with family and friends. The more roommates a migrant black male reports having in his room, the more likely it is that he will <u>not</u> have relatives on camp and the he will <u>not</u> be sharing his room with a relative or friend. This relationship is particularly strong in the case of the association between number of roommates and who shares the room, indicating that intimate family contact is probably confined to small rooms and that the residents of large doritory like "bullpens" are mostly strangers.

Turning to the influence of background factors on kinship relations in the camps included in our sample, we see, as expected that for black

males age is an extremely important and pervasive variable. Older men report having fewer relatives on the camp and are less closely related; they tend more often than younger men to share their rooms with strangers and have, on the average, a larger number of roommates. The only exceptions in Table 8 to the general pattern of negative relationships with key structural variables are with respect to years with the crew and occupation. Older men show a tendency to have been with a given crew a longer period of time than younger men and level of occupational prestige appears to bear no relationship to age whatsoever. Overall, however, the observed pattern of relationships is clear: Older men are more isolated, are less embedded in a network of kinship relations, and thus stand in a peripheral relation to whatever core of social solidarity each crew and each camp possesses.

As Table 9 indicates, black women share some but not all of the characteristics described for black men. In respect of similarities, the longer a woman has been with a crew, the more relatives she has in the camp. Moreover, the more relatives a woman has, the more likely are her roommates to be related to her. On the other hand, there is no tendency for women with many roommates to share a room with non-relatives. That is to say, there is no female equivalent to the bullpen. Nor is there a tendency for older women to be socially isolated as there is for older black men. Again in distinction to the men, there is a tendency for women who have been with the crew longer to be better educated than women who have been with the crew a shorter period. The overall impression is that women of all ages are more likely than men to share living quarters with relatives and thus to be embedded in more extended kin networks.

Table 9. Intercorrelations among Independent Variables and Background Factors for Black Females +

	Total Relatives	Related-ness	Who Shares Room	Years with Crew	No. of Roommates	Age	Education	Occupation
Social Isolation								
1. Total Relatives	-							
2. Relatedness	.73 ***	-						
3. Who Shares Room	.39 *	.56 **	-					
4. Years with Crew	.41 **	.34 *	.04	-				
5. No. of Roommates	.42 **	.58 ***	.04	.23	-			
Background Factors								
6. Age	.15	.01	.13	.29	.05	-		
7. Education	-.16	-.11	-.16	.42 **	.06	-.13	-	
8. Occupation	.05	-.11	.30	.06	-.13	.18	.39 *	-

* Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level
*** Significant at the .001 level

\+ Spearman's Rho

Table 10 indicates that Haitian men are like black men in that the more roommates they have, the less likely they are to be related to them. There is not an age effect, presumably reflecting both the youthfulness of the Haitian immigrant population and the short time they have been involved in seasonal labor.

Relationships of Independent and Dependent Variables

Tables 11 through 13 display the correlations between the independent and dependent variables. Most striking for black men is the consistent inverse relationship between number of relatives in the camp and frequency and quantity of alcohol consumption and trouble due to drinking (see Table 11). Moreover, older men drink more than younger men (but not more often) and have had more trouble as a result of alcohol consumption; and the more unrelated roommates one has, the more likely is one to have experienced trouble due to drinking. Thus, we may conclude that among black men those who are older and relatively socially isolated drink the most and experience most trouble as a result.

This pattern is not quite the same as that observed among black women (see Table 12). Nonetheless there is some evidence that the fewer relatives a woman has in the camp, and the fewer with whom she shares a room, the more frequently she drinks and the more likely is she to have experienced trouble as a result.

The pattern for Haitian men (see Table 13) shows only one significant result, which could well have occurred by chance (out of 24 tests, one would be significant at the 5% level by chance). This is very likely a consequence of the Haitians' unwillingness to answer questions having to do with alcohol use.

Table 10. Intercorrelations among Independent Variables and Background Factors for Haitian Males +

	Total Relatives	Related-ness	Who Shares Room	Years with Crew	No. of Roommates	Age	Education	Occupation
Social Isolation								
1. Total Relatives	-							
2. Relatedness	.89 ***	-						
3. Who Shares Room	.30 *	.45 **	-					
4. Years with Crew	.16	.08	-.17	-				
5. No. of Roommates	.05	-.05	-.37 **	.04	-			
Background Factors								
6. Age	.03	.06	.02	-.06	-.01	-		
7. Education	-.04	-.12	.01	-.02	-.16	-.11	-	
8. Occupation	.15	.12	.29 *	-.32 *	-.32 *	.13	.02	-

* Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level
*** Significant at the .001 level

\+ Spearman's Rho

Table 11. Correlations of Independent Variables and Background Factors with Frequency and Quantity of Alcohol Consumption and with Trouble Due to Drinking for Black Males (N=121)

	Frequency How often respondent drinks	Quantity (More than five at a single sitting)	Trouble (Trouble Due to Drinking Score)
Social Isolation			
1. Total Relatives	-.22 **	-.24 **	-.22 **
2. Relatedness	-.17 *	-.23 **	-.26 **
3. Who Shares Room	-.15	-.13	-.20 *
4. Years with Crew	-.05	-.02	-.04
5. No. of Roommates	.04	.09	.22 **
Background Factors			
6. Age	.14	.24 **	.27 ***
7. Education	-.08	-.15 *	-.07
8. Occupation	.00	-.05	-.20 *

* Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level
*** Significant at the .001 level

Table 12. Correlations of Independent Variables and Background Factors with Frequency and Quantity of Alcohol Consumption and with Trouble Due to Drinking for Black Females (N=32)

	Frequency How often respondent drinks	Quantity (More than five at a single sitting)	Trouble (Trouble Due to Drinking Score)
Social Isolation			
1. Total Relatives	-.35 *	-.21	-.28
2. Relatedness	-.26	-.12	-.33 *
3. Who Shares Room	-.24	-.15	-.33 *
4. Years with Crew	-.01	-.10	-.33 *
5. No. of Roommates	-.24	-.15	-.19
Background Factors			
6. Age	.17	.28	.08
7. Education	.06	-.05	-.19
8. Occupation	-.06	.17	-.01

* Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level
*** Significant at the .001 level

Table 13. Correlations of Independent Variables and Background Factors with Frequency and Quantity of Alcohol Consumption and with Trouble Due to Drinking for Haitian Males (N=64)

	Frequency How often respondent drinks	Quantity (More than five at a single sitting)	Trouble (Trouble Due to Drinking Score)
Social Isolation			
1. Total Relatives	-.07	-.14	-.05
2. Relatedness	-.07	-.11	-.07
3. Who Shares Room	-.09	-.17	-.05
4. Years with Crew	.09	.00	-.05
5. No. of Roommates	-.03	.06	-.25 *
Background Factors			
6. Age	.00	-.12	.03
7. Education	.09	.04	.13
8. Occupation	.04	-.14	.00

* Significant at the .05 level

CONCLUSIONS

Our results support the initial hypothesis that in camps composed primarily of family groups, social control mechanisms will be more highly developed than in camps composed primarily of unattached men and that this will be reflected in differences in drinking behavior. We found that unattached, older black men account for most of the heavy drinking in migrant camps. People travelling in family groups under the surveillance and control of kin and often with responsibilities for youngsters report less frequent and less heavy drinking and less trouble as a result. There are two possible explanations, and our data are not adequate to distinguish between them. First, there may have been a drift of increasing numbers of homeless men into migrancy. Second, there may have always been such men in the migrant stream --informants tell us of the recruitment of alcoholics as early as the 1940s and the 1950s-- but they may have simply become more visible as family groups left migrant work. Thus, they may be a residual population.

Clearly these two explanations are not mutually exclusive. Whichever is correct, the net effect has been an increasing proportion of unattached men in migrancy and hence increasing visibility of, and concern about, the problem of heavy alcohol use.

We have noted that mechanization has been one of the factors most responsible for the decline and change in composition of the migrant stream. Until recently potato picking in Western New York was said to be less affected by this development than other crops, such as snap beans. But the rapid decline in number of camps and migrant workers in potato growing areas over the past several years suggests that even in potatoes mechanical picking is proving to be economical. We have touched briefly

on the explanation previously. As indicated in the Introduction, mechanization has proceeded rapidly in various crops over the past 30 years. One important result has been that it is less and less likely that a crew will be able to schedule a full season's work moving from crop to crop. Thus it is becoming less possible for migrant labor to result in steady employment from June through October and hence those with families to support are less willing to do it. As steady workers settle out of the stream, those who remain or are recruited are increasingly likely to be unattached men. And as the work force in general changes, those farmers (in our case potato farmers) who before found it profitable not to use mechanical pickers now find that it is profitable. Hence, as already noted, mechanization becomes a self-reinforcing process, and in itself contributes to the de-skilling of the work force.

Thus the trend we have described with respect to the changing composition of the agricultural labor force is likely to continue. It has been suggested that the Agricultural Extension Service might be able to change the process by improving farm management techniques such that workers are taught a variety of skills which may make it possible for some of them to remain employed at a variety of tasks the year round on a single farm. The hoped for result is an upgrading of the labor force as workers are persuaded that farm work is not a dead end or only sporadic. Whether this hope is realized or not only the future will tell. We would simply note here that the training of farmers in managerial techniques by the Extension Service is parallel to its role in encouraging technological innovation in agriculture, and may have similar consequences with respect to benefiting large rather than small operators. For the immediate future, it appears to us that the trend toward de-skilling of

farm labor is likely to continue. If that is the case, then it will continue to be seen as a dead-end occupation attractive primarily to the homeless and troubled.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In developing the original proposal for this study, a review of the literature regarding alcohol use among migrant farmworkers revealed few previous studies. This paucity of information prompted the Special Task Force on Migrants for the President's Commission on Mental Health to state that "immediate efforts be made to gather statistically valid data (including socioeconomic, demographic data and studies of cultural values and patterns) to determine the extent of alcoholism, alcohol related problems and substance abuse problems within this population so that innovative models can be developed for the treatment and prevention of these problems among migrants and seasonal farmworkers."

This study on "Alcohol Use Among Migrant Workers" is one attempt to fill the void cited by the task force and has resulted in recommendations that address programmatic needs as well as additional studies that can be conducted to assist migrant farmworkers.

The major programmatic recommendation is: that recreational, social, and other activities, be made available for migrant farmworkers - particularly on weekends as well as during "down" times, inclement weather and evenings. Unquestionably, the study showed that the heaviest drinking part of the week for migrant farmworkers is the weekend and the other non-working times. The opportunity to participate in alternative activities such as field trips, sporting events, cultural activities would enable the workers to select non-alcohol consumption activities.

Recommendations relating to further study include the following:

1. That a model year-round interstate pilot be developed to test the feasibility of providing continuous alcohol counseling and services for migrant farmworkers. The constant mobility of the

farmworker population and the pervasive migrant camp alcohol environment necessitate exploring how to provide the alcohol counseling and services on a continuous basis.

2. That this study ("Alcohol Use Among Migrant Workers") be replicated in other Migrant impact areas with other population groups i.e. Mexicans, Kickapoo Indians, etc. so that comparisons can be made vis-a-vie the ethnic groups, crops, geographic locations.
3. That a study be conducted to determine the relationship of health problems to alcohol. Many of the older men who responded to the questionnaires in this study were heavy drinkers and had a variety of health problems. It would be important to ascertain whether or not alcohol is one of the contributing factors to the 49 year life expectancy of migrant farmworkers.
4. That a study be conducted on migrant farmworkers and substance abuse. The researchers found considerable evidence of substance abuse in many of the camps. More data on this abuse could lead to appropriate preventive measures and treatment.
5. That a study be conducted on the relationship of alcohol abuse and child abuse so that appropriate measures can be taken to combat the problem.
6. That a study comparing Haitian workers' drinking patterns while they are in the migrant stream with those who have settled out should be conducted because of the newness of Haitian workers to the migrant population. The investigators noted that those Haitians who had been in the migrant stream two years were adopting the drinking habits of the migrants.

7. That a study be conducted to compare the drinking patterns of migrant workers who work with different crops which are at different skill levels, to discover if the migrants' drinking patterns change from crop to crop.

Implementation of the above stated recommendations could provide some of the information needed to move forward in resolving the problems of migrant farmworkers and their needs for services as they travel.

Appendix I

MIGRANT ALCOHOL USE QUESTIONNAIRE

CORE SAMPLE ☐ TRANSIENT SAMPLE ☐ (Check one)

Interviewer _____ Camp No. _____

Date _____

Checked By _____ Informant No. _____

Date _____

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Homebase Address _____
   (permanent address) (city, town, place) (state)
2. Date of Birth _____ Sex ____ ____ Ethnic Group _____
   M F
3. Marital Status _____ 4. Number of surviving children _____
5. Have you ever been married before? Yes ____ No ____
6. What was the highest grade you completed in school? _____
7. Have you had any other schooling or job training? Yes ____ No ____
8. If "Yes," what other kind of training have you had? _____

   _____

   _____
9. Can you describe the room you live in? _____

   _____

   _____
10. How many people share your room with you? _____
11. Who are these other people who share your room? _____

    _____

II. RELATIVES IN CAMP

Are you related to any of the other crew members? Yes _____ No _____ If "Yes," how?

Relationship	Sex	Age

III. OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

1. Have you ever done migrant work before this season? Yes _____ No _____
2. How long have you been doing migrant work? _____ (years) _____ (months) _____ (weeks)
3. How long have you been with this crew? _____ (years) _____ (months) _____ (weeks)
4. Where did you join this crew? _____ (city, town, place) _____ (state)
5. Where were you and the crew working just before coming to this camp? _____
6. Please describe the kind of work the crew was doing in these other places. _____
7. What other sorts of work have you done besides farm work? _____
8. Of these other jobs what was the longest time you held a job?

_____ (years) _____ (months) _____ (weeks)

9. What was it? _____

ALCOHOL USE

Yes No (Check statement you would make)

___ ___ 1. Alcoholic beverages make a social gathering more enjoyable.
___ ___ 2. Alcoholic beverages make me feel more satisfied with myself.
___ ___ 3. Alcoholic beverages help me overcome shyness.
___ ___ 4. Alcoholic beverages help me get along better with other people.
___ ___ 5. Alcoholic beverages make me feel less self-conscious.
___ ___ 6. Alcoholic beverages make me feel loose.
___ ___ 7. Alcoholic beverages give me pleasure.
___ ___ 8. A drink sometimes makes me feel better.

9. What is your favorite drink? _____

10. If that wasn't available, what else would you drink? _____

11. What's available to you on this camp? _____

12. Would you drink _____? Yes _____ No _____
(Whatever was not answer in questions 9 and 10)

13. What do you usually drink on this camp? _____

_____

14. How much do you drink at any one time?
    a. If drinking liquor? _____
    b. If drinking beer? _____
    c. If drinking wine? _____
    d. If mixing drinks? _____

15. How often do you drink? (Circle one)
    a. Never
    b. At most once a month
    c. Two or three times a month
    d. Once a week
    e. Two or three times a week
    f. Daily

16. During the past year, how many times have you had five or more drinks at a single sitting? (Circle one)
    a. None
    b. Once
    c. Between two and ten times
    d. Approximately once a month
    e. Twice a month
    f. Once a week
    g. More than once a week

17. When do you drink? (Check one)

Yes	No		
___	___	a.	Any time during the day
___	___	b.	Rainy days
___	___	c.	Evenings
___	___	d.	Slack work periods/down times
___	___	e.	Weekends

18. In the last seven days, have you had anything to drink? _____

19. If you had a drink during the last seven days, how many of those days did you drink?

_____

20. The last time you drank, what did you drink? _____

21. How much? _____

_____

22. Do you drink more or less when you are on the season? More _____ Same _____ Less _____

Comments:

V. PREOCCUPATION WITH ALCOHOL (Check statements that apply to you)

Yes	No		
___	___	1.	I stay drunk for several days at a time.
___	___	2.	I worry about not being able to get a drink when I need one.
___	___	3.	I sneak drinks when no one is looking.
___	___	4.	Once I start drinking, it is hard for me to stop until I am drunk.
___	___	5.	I get drunk on work days.
___	___	6.	I take a drink the first thing when I get up in the morning.
___	___	7.	I wake up the next day not being able to remember some of the things I had done while I was drinking.
___	___	8.	When I drink I don't eat as much.
___	___	9.	Most of the time I gulp my drinks as fast as I can.
___	___	10.	I drink mainly for the effect.
___	___	11.	Liquor has less effect on me than it used to.

. TROUBLE DUE TO DRINKING (Check statements that apply to you)

Yes	No		
___	___	1.	Have you ever been fired or threatened to be fired if you did not cut down or quit drinking?
___	___	2.	Has a relative or someone you're living with ever complained that you spend too much money for alcohol?
___	___	3.	Has your spouse or someone you're living with ever threatened to leave you if you did not do something about your drinking?
___	___	4.	Have you ever been picked up by the police for being drunk or other charges involving alcohol?
___	___	5.	Has a doctor ever told you that drinking was bad for you?
$_____		6.	How much did you spend in the last week on drinking?

II. MEDICAL

Yes	No		
___	___	1.	Have you ever vomited up anything that looked like coffee grounds?
___	___	2.	If yes, has this happened in the last week?
___	___	3.	Have you ever vomited up red blood?
___	___	4.	If yes, has this happened in the last week?
___	___	5.	Have you ever passed a black, tarry stool?
___	___	6.	If yes, has this happened in the last week?
___	___	7.	After you have been drinking, are you shaky and nervous?
___	___	8.	If yes, has this happened in the last week?
___	___	9.	After drinking, have you ever heard voices when no one is around?
___	___	10.	If yes, has this happened in the last week?
___	___	11.	After you have been drinking, have you ever seen strange things that you couldn't explain, like small animals crawling on the walls?
___	___	12.	If yes, has this happened in the last week?
___	___	13.	If you answered yes to any of the above medical questions, describe the specific occurrence below:

Comments:

suh
7/20/82

CORE SAMPLE ☐ TRANSIENT SAMPLE ☐

Camp No. _____

Informant No. _____

CORRELATIONS OF ALCOHOL-RELATED
DEPENDENT VARIABLES*

(All Respondents, N=230)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Alcohol Use	---					
2.	Preoccupation with Alcohol	.72	---				
3.	Trouble Due To Drinking	.55	.70	---			
4.	Medical	.50	.61	.60	---		
5.	How Often Do You Drink	.77	.68	.57	.46	---	
6.	How Often Do You Have More Than Five Drinks At A Single Sitting	.69	.68	.61	.50	.75	---

*Spearman's Rho. All values significant at $p < .001$.

Appendix III

CALCULATION OF RELATEDNESS SCORES

1. Single, unattached (57.8%)
2. Same generation relatives, without spouse (11.7%)
3. Same generation relatives, with spouse (10.4%)
4. One generation above or below (16.1%)
5. Two generations above or below (3.9%)

The higher the score, the more deeply embedded within a kin network is the individual assumed to be.

FOOTNOTES

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